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Statistics revealed that 65% of a local Negro high school graduating class sought opportunities for employment outside of Chattanooga. It is indicated that, in the area, discrimination was practiced against the Negro long before he filed his first job application. An analysis of educational and training opportunities revealed that equal training opoortunities in the schools were denied, and when a Negro sought a skilled job, he was rejected because of inadequate training. If he did acquire trade skills, he was barred from most trade unions and apprentice programs. Almost without exception industries with Federal contracts filled their required Negro quota at the lowest level of employment. Local custom acted as a brake on the few white employers who might have desired to upgrade Negro employees. Negro youths were trained only in fields currently open to them on the labor market. This lack of accessibility to an open job market negatively affected both students and teachers. Negro leaders charged that vocational guidance programs were geared more toward disciplining delinquents than counseling toward vocational opportunities.

In public employment, job opportunities for the Negro were brighter, but improvements were made. Discrimination was also found at the professional level. Doctors were barred from membership in the local medical association and could not practice in the city's two major hospitals. Teachers had no educational outlet and were required to travel at least 100 miles for advanced work. The one Negro lawyer felt that he was handicapped in his practice by a feeling within the community that a white lawyer could handle a case more effectively in an all-white courtroom. A few instances of job breakthough were cited -- a flower designer, a mail-order clerk, an automobile salesman, and a variety store clerk.

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NEGRO INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT: ECONOMIC IMPACT OF SEGREGATION

ED001945

CHATTANOOGA

THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH

The second of a series of Employment Studies in Southern Cities

A Report based on a survey by the
Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action
Dr. Major J. Jones
Research Coordinator

Office of Education
Research and Materials Branch

FOREWORD

The first study in this series was of Houston, Texas and was published in November, 1961. A note at the beginning of that pamphlet indicated the purpose of the series. We know of no better introductory statement to this second report than the following paragraphs from an editorial in the *Durham Morning Herald,* September 19, 1961:

> Every obstacle which keeps Negroes from fitting themselves for skilled jobs must be paid for over and over again by every one of us. Indeed, the price mounts each year.
>
> For by discouraging the training of more skilled Negro workers, the state is promoting the very technological unemployment the nation as a whole is trying to combat. It is ironic in the extreme to figure out ways of promoting new skills among workers in depressed areas while blocking others from learning skills that would keep them from joining the ranks of the chronically unemployed.
>
> . . . We condemn a significant percentage of our labor force to scramble for the ever dwindling proportion of laborers' jobs. Their requests for training toward higher skills are often ignored, or worse turned down with the fatuous claim that it is no good training them because there would be no openings for Negroes even if they were skilled.
>
> The results of this self-defeating response to the Negro's need for job training are abundantly clear. They are clear in the out-migration of North Carolina's most able and intelligent Negroes. They are clear in the wasted capabilities of other Negroes who, for one reason or another, choose to remain despite the lack of opportunities. They are clear in many other ways.
>
> And in each one it is also clear that the Negro is not the only loser. For so long as he makes an artificially small contribution toward the development of the state, the entire state is poorer.

The material in this report is based upon interviews carried out during the summer of 1961. The Southern Regional Council and the co-sponsor of this study, the Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action, not only acknowledge the contribution of Dr. Major J. Jones but also that of the 28 member organizations of CCCA and its president, Rev. Horace Traylor, and of the many citizens of Chattanooga without whose cooperation this study would not have been possible.

James A. Moss

Director of Research
Southern Regional Council

Office of Education-EEOP
Research and Materials Branch Bennett O. Stalvey

NO PLACE AT HOME

Last spring 300 young men and women were graduated from Chattanooga's Howard High School. They were a class of normal American youth. They liked football, dancing, movies, television, popular music. They came from all walks of life, all religious faiths. Some aspired to professional careers. Some wanted to be housewives; some, to learn trades.

There was, in brief, nothing extraordinary about the situation except one thing: these young people were Negroes.

What does this mean?

To the 30% who wanted to go to college it meant that they had to enroll in schools at least 100 miles away, despite the existence of a fully accredited university in their home town; for this university bars members of their race.

And what of the remaining number?

Thirty-two per cent left Chattanooga altogether to seek employment in other cities.

Three per cent entered the armed forces.

Thus, 65% of a graduating class of 300 for one reason or another migrated elsewhere.

Of the more than a third who remained in Chattanooga, 14% have since married and established new households.

Twenty per cent were forced to take menial jobs with little or no opportunity for advancement.

One per cent were employed as apprentices in skilled trades.

The record can be verified by statistics on file at the high school.

Taken out of context — without being aware that the young people were Negroes — one might suppose that the city of Chattanooga is in the midst of an economic recession. Aware of the race, one familiar with

employment practices in the South regards the situation as standard operating procedure.

The evidence strongly indicates that discrimination in employment against Negroes is practiced in a wholesale manner throughout the entire South. This fact being acknowledged, it seems pertinent to inquire if there are any evidences of change on the way. If so, in what areas? Let us explore the Chattanooga employment scene in more detail.

UNEQUAL OPPORTUNITY BEGINS AT SCHOOL

Essential to such an investigation is an analysis of educational and training opportunities.

Vocational training at all-white Kirkman High School encompasses a range of course. Here the white student may learn automotive mechanics, auto motors, commercial arts, cosmetology, drafting, electricity, industrial chemistry, industrial electricity, industrial instrumentation, machine drafting, basic and advanced machine shop procedures, printing, radio and television repair, refrigeration, air conditioning, sheet metal, welding, practical nursing, photography, pre-flight aeronautics, and assorted business subjects, including office machine operations, commercial arithmetic, and salesmanship. Of these courses, only automotive mechanics, automotive motors, commercial arts, cosmetology, practical nursing, and basic business courses are taught in the city's two Negro high schools. In addition, all-Negro Howard High offers tailoring, shoe repair, carpentry, commercial baking, and bricklaying, courses that are not available to white students.

The disparity here is palpably evident, as is the over-all pattern. Negro youth, observers say, are offered training only in fields currently open to them in the labor market. The lack of accessibility to an open job market negatively affects both students and teachers. Negro teachers are denied the knowledge that comes from direct participation in meaningful roles in industry as well as the opportunity for placing their students in the more highly skilled and better paid jobs. Coupled with these disadvantages is the inadequate and often outdated equipment provided in the Negro schools. Because of this, Negro leaders maintain that the quality of training at Howard High in courses seemingly comparable to those taught at Kirkman is inferior to that in courses offered white students. Furthermore, they state, vocational guidance programs are geared more toward disciplining of delinquent students than counseling toward vocational opportunities.

The majority of guidance personnel, in fact, is reportedly not even in contact with the job market.

Opportunities for Negro adults to gain additional training are limited to some of the previously mentioned courses offered in the two Negro high schools, plus classes in electronics, welding, sewing, rug making, and cake decorating. These courses are taught in the evenings, when the high school facilities may be used. No other vocational training is available to Negroes in the entire city.

All money supporting public school vocational training in the state of Tennessee for both white and Negro schools comes from the Federal Government.

CUSTOM-BUILT DISCRIMINATION IN PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT

In approaching the subject of Negro employment in the South one inevitably encounters almost a fixation among white employers against breaching "local custom." It is local custom that Negroes in white-owned industries work in menial roles. It is local custom that Negroes do not work on an equal basis with whites. It is local custom that Negroes, with few exceptions, do not supervise whites. Few will insist that the situation is morally justifiable or consistent with democratic and Christian ethics; some will admit privately, in fact, that it goes against their individual convictions. Rare, however, is the white employer who will take voluntary action to bring about change. In Chattanooga, such employers are so rare as to be practically nonexistent.

The results of several interviews illustrate the point.

- A furniture store employs a total of five Negroes. Three are truck drivers; one is a truck helper; one is an elevator operator. There is no written policy against upgrading Negroes, and an official states that "a Negro could become a salesman, but it would depend on the situation at the particular time." No Negroes, he says, have ever filed applications for jobs above the menial level.

- A department store which estimates its Negro trade at between 20% and 30% employs 87 Negroes, approximately 90% of whom are in "maintenance and service jobs." It has one Negro display assistant and

six stock clerks, who are actually classified as porters. Some maids assist salesclerks. The president of this store at one time thought of hiring a Negro salesclerk, but feared adverse reaction from white customers. The store has no policy for upgrading Negroes.

● Recently a downtown grocery store employed one Negro in its meat market, promoted another from cleaner to stock room worker, and hired a third for stock room work. The transition — hardly a breakthrough of major proportions — is regarded as "successful" by the store manager.

● A large bank which does 15% of its business with Negroes employs no Negroes in any capacity whatever. An official says that its Negro customers pay their bills better than many whites, and in the past 13 years it has never foreclosed on a Negro home. Somewhat curiously, the reason given for not employing Negroes is the bank's policy of employee recruitment from people "known" to it. One might, it seems, inquire if its Negro customers do not fit into this category.

● Officials at another bank will not reveal the volume of its Negro business and state only that it employs eight Negroes, all as porters with no opportunity for training leading to higher level jobs.

● A third bank employs no Negroes directly but has Negro janitors and maids supplied through a janitorial service. A spokesman here maintains that he has "liberal views on racial matters," but feels bound by local custom in employing Negroes.

● A major department store employs 100 Negroes, all as maids, janitors, or porters. The highest job level obtained by a Negro here is head porter. The store has no immediate plans to promote Negroes to higher level jobs due to local custom and tradition. However, it concedes that "a gradual approach to upgrading might be feasible." A store official estimates that more than a quarter of its business is with Negroes.

● A spokesman for a utility firm refused to answer questions put to him which he deemed "controversial" or designed "to create tension." His company, he responded, hires "those compatible with others in a work group." Promotion of Negroes, he says, is governed by "traditions and customs of the community."

● Another utility company employs more than 40 Negroes, all of

them in the category of laborers. Three, however, are truck drivers, and one assists a white machinist. There are no Negro supervisors.

● A major pipe company with a total of 682 persons on its payroll employs 250 Negroes. Eight of these hold jobs classified as molder finishers and utility men. But, according to a management spokesman, none is able to qualify for promotion. The remaining Negroes are classified as laborers.

● An intrastate bus line has 11 Negro and more than 200 white employees. Its Negro employees are all in maintenance service, but none has been advanced beyond the level of mechanic's helper.

● Local offices of two large insurance companies employ no Negroes above custodial rank. Fifty per cent of the life insurance business of one is with Negroes; yet all of its 200 agents are white.

● Of 600 employees at a hosiery mill, 10 are Negro, and all hold jobs as either janitors or maids.

● A variety chain store which reports "good experience" with Negro employees has one Negro who works as a general utility man. He installs and repairs air conditioners, does building cleaning, and supervises other janitors. His official classification is "porter." At one time the store had a Negro window decorator and currently has a Negro stock boy. Its one Negro maid "does other work" which was not specified.

● Another variety store — part of a nationwide chain — employs a Negro window decorator and a maid in its stock room. The management of this store "fears repercussions" if it upgrades Negroes to sales or supervisory roles.

● A major egg processor with more than two thirds of its total work staff Negro has no Negro supervisors, nor any Negroes working in a clerical or middle management capacity. Neither does it have any policy for Negroes of in-plant training leading to promotion. The work week here is six days, and the minimum wage is $1.03 per hour.

● A local pharmaceutical firm employing 16 Negroes out of a work force of 175 has one Negro who holds a semiskilled post as steam fitter and another who is supervisor of the remaining Negroes, all of whom work in menial capacities. A company official here says Negroes are not con-

sidered for advancement into jobs on a level with whites due to "personality conflicts."

● The Chattanooga plant of a national coffee processing company employs two Negroes who work as maintenance men, coffee roasters, and coffee blenders. A spokesman for the company says that, although qualified Negroes may be upgraded to foremen, none has yet been promoted to this position. Queried as to the likelihood of a Negro's being added to the sales force, the official says that the matter has never been considered, but it is not entirely out of the question. A Negro salesman working with Negro customers might, he feels, be quite effective.

Firms operating under Federal Government contracts were most reluctant to participate in the survey. Some refused to cooperate at all, and most were evasive in their responses. From information finally elicited their hesitancy is not difficult to understand, for it is manifest that few practice the nondiscriminatory ideal outlined in President Kennedy's executive order on employment policies in firms operating under Federal Government contracts.

Consider a few examples:

● A large iron foundry with nearly a thousand employees — half of whom are Negro — has no Negro foremen, even in a supervisory capacity over other Negro workers. The base pay for white employees is 25¢ an hour more than for Negroes. White employees start at a job and pay classification two steps above the Negro. There is a dual seniority system — one for employees of each race. Some Negro employees allege that union and management work together to keep the Negro level of employment low and also to bar Negroes from machine-shop apprenticeships. Whatever the reason, Negroes hold only menial and "heavy" jobs and have never been accepted as apprentice machinists.

● The situation is similar at another and larger foundry. Here, too, Negroes are relegated to menial work. Here, too, workers feel that union and management are working together to keep from upgrading Negroes to jobs with better pay and higher responsibility. The company once had an in-plant training program for Negro "blue caps," but those who participated were never upgraded. The program has since been abandoned. There is, similarly, a dual seniority list for white and Negro employees.

● The owner of a third large foundry refused to discuss the status of

Negroes employed at his company. Interviews with individual employees indicate, however, that few, if any, measures have been taken to comply with President Kennedy's fair employment practices directive. Negroes for the most part hold menial positions. Specific jobs include iron pourers, truck drivers, loaders, cupola workers, blasters, and grinders. Negroes are barred from apprenticeship training. There are no Negro foremen, administrators, or clerical workers. There is a feeling here that the union, which is an AFL-CIO affiliate, does little to upgrade Negroes; in fact, some Negroes state that the union actually dictates a policy of discrimination despite a nondiscrimination clause in its contract. To substantiate their claim they cite the fact that all jobs are classified by race and that there is never any overlapping of a Negro into a "white" job or a white into a "Negro" job.

● A smaller foundry appears to be somewhat more lenient. Here, Negro molders are classified as skilled or semiskilled, according to their experience. The management is considering employing Negro welders and has an informal apprenticeship program of "crew training" for Negroes working in semiskilled roles. It has, however, no Negro supervisors, foremen, nor any Negroes working in an administrative or clerical status.

● The employment practices of the local division of one of the country's largest chemical companies are described as "most conservative" by both white and Negro employees. No Negroes have been hired in five years. Those who are already employed hold jobs as truck drivers, waste handlers, clean-up men, and cutting- and lifting-machine operators. There is no union, and Negroes are not allowed to participate in apprentice training programs.

● Conflicting pictures emerge from interviews with employees and management of the local division of a national producer of enameled iron and sanitary ware. A company official says that his firm, whose total work staff is 28% Negro, hires strictly on the basis of individual qualification. This official reports that employees have equal opportunity for promotion. Negroes, he says, are selected by qualification and seniority for training programs leading to promotion; however, as a rule, he insists, they do not "follow through" on the training given them. Upgrading of all employees, he reports, is made only with union agreement. Of interest is his statement that Negroes are not barred from supervisory roles, but that the company is reluctant to promote them "for obvious reasons." Negroes and whites do work side by side on many jobs, he states, and good relations exist between

members of the two races. Negroes, the official adds, work at all type jobs in the company "except technical and engineering."

Employees present a different view. Training programs, it is alleged, are not open to Negroes, and an "unwritten law" bars Negroes from becoming machinists. An instance is cited of a Negro machinist trainee who was given a tryout and was transferred as being "too slow" after only six days on the job. White trainees in the same shop have been given as much as two years to acquire the speed and skill necessary to do the same job. Another case is told of a Negro who was about to qualify as a highly skilled enameler and at the last moment was transferred to another department in a menial role at far less pay and with no opportunity for advancement. Allegations are also made that the union blocks Negroes from moving into more skilled jobs.

Both informants agree that the highest level job held by a Negro at this company is brickmason.

● Negro employees at a textile chemical firm hold more than their share of jobs at the unskilled level — as appears to be the case with numerous firms holding Federal contracts in the Chattanooga area. The company employs no Negro clerical workers, chemists, laboratory technicians, or supervisors on any level. A Negro was once offered a supervisory role over other Negroes; but he declined, because the pay was not as much as he earned as a laborer.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT: THE GREAT ILLUSION

In the field of public employment Negro job opportunities in Chattanooga are somewhat brighter than in private industry, but there is still vast room for improvement.

Exclusive of the teaching profession Negroes employed by the city hold 16 jobs which may be considered above menial status. Ten of these are city policemen; one is a license inspector; three are juvenile court officers assigned to Negro cases only; and two are caseworkers in the Negro division of the Bureau of Relief.

The 10 Negro policemen actually do not have full status as they are assigned only to Negro neighborhoods and are prohibited from arresting white law violators within their jurisdiction. There are no Negro supervisors

in the police department. Over the years a few white officers have been sent for further training; no Negro patrolmen have ever been chosen to attend police institutes or FBI schools.

In the Hamilton County courthouse, Negro employment for the most part is janitorial. One Negro holds a post as a semi-inventory clerk, and another is employed as a plumber's helper. A court official, denying any personal bias, reports that Negroes are not upgraded because of "local custom." Although this official appears to recognize that local custom is dictating an essentially immoral situation, he hesitates to take steps in opposition to prevailing white sentiment. At the close of the interview, however, he indicated that he would give consideration to placing qualified Negroes in jobs above their present level of employment.

The city administration says it would like to hire several engineers without regard to race and also would like to staff fire stations in the Negro community with Negro firemen. Queried as to his position on Negro employment in city government, the mayor of Chattanooga makes this comment: "I will cooperate with efforts in this city for its betterment by setting an example."

Basic educational requirement for employment by the city-owned Electric Power Board is a high school diploma. Vocational training of Negro high school graduates is considered by Power Board officials to be well below that of white high schools — not surprising in view of inadequate training facilities at the two Negro high schools. Job placement in theory is based on an applicant's qualifications. Yet when three young Negroes trained in commercial subjects recently sought to fill openings in secretarial and clerical work, their qualifications were judged "unimpressive," and the jobs went to white applicants. Of 34 Negroes employed by the Power Board, 16 are classified as janitors, four as hostlers, two as truck drivers, five as laborers, two as helpers, and five as elevator operators. An official of the board admits that, although all jobs supposedly are open to qualified members of both races, Negroes have no chance at all of becoming foremen. Local custom would forbid it.

The Chattanooga School Board employs no Negro carpenters, painters, electricians, mechanics, plumbers, plumber's helpers, or steam fitters, although there are Negroes in the city qualified to hold such jobs.

Of 50 school custodians 40 are Negro. Here Negroes appear to be

losing out in a field they once dominated. Ten years ago all 50 were Negro, but as the Negroes have retired they have been replaced by whites, whose jobs are reclassified as "building managers," with higher pay than that received by their Negro predecessors.

The Chattanooga Housing Authority employs no Negroes at the policy making level, and, in its central offices, Negroes are working only as janitors. Elsewhere, the agency employs Negroes, for the most part, as laborers. However, three do hold semiskilled jobs — all classified as mechanics or supervisors but performing higher level tasks such as electricians, painters, and plumbers. All are nonunion men, because trade unions in the city bar Negroes from membership. These men are paid on a lower scale than called for by the skills they are performing.

Urban renewal projects are first let to the general contractor, who then subcontracts various phases of construction. The selection of subcontractors is the decision of the general contractor. An official admits that unless Negro contractors know in advance about a particular job they would have no chance to bid for it, as subcontracts are not advertised.

It is reported by some Negro laborers that while working for white contractors they frequently do skilled work but do not draw additional pay.

The Negro division of the State Employment Service is under the supervision of a white director. The reason for this, a spokesman says, is that no Negro can be found in the city of Chattanooga who has the proper qualifications, *i.e.,* a college degree plus civil service supervisory experience. The agency feels no obligation to seek out jobs for Negroes; however, it reportedly does perform this service for whites. At the central offices jobs are not referred to the Negro division unless the employer specifically requests Negroes. Most such requests are for work in menial roles.

In contrast, interviewers noted some concern on the part of a Social Security official that no Negroes work in his office on any level. He was disturbed lest the national administration think the office practices racial discrimination. The truth is, the official insists, that few Negroes take Civil Service examinations in the city.

An interview with personnel administrators at the Tennessee Valley Authority revealed that 112 Negroes are employed out of a total work force of 600. Of the Negroes employed, 52 are janitors, nine are messen-

gers, four are garage attendants, three are linemen, two are lineman apprentices, two are truck drivers, four are bindery workers, and two are building guards. There are 22 Negroes employed in various clerical roles, including 11 file clerks, two typists, seven mail clerks, and two store clerks. In addition, four Negroes are duplicating machine operators, one a computing machine operator, and one is a collating machine operator. Two Negroes hold jobs as engineers — one, a civil engineer; the other, electrical. There is one Negro electrical engineer trainee, one Negro draftsman, one photographer, and one Negro personnel administrator.

Officials of the agency feel that many Negroes seeking employment at TVA have inadequate vocational training.

At the Chattanooga post office no Negroes are employed as supervisors.

BARRIERS TO PROFESSIONAL PRIDE

Even on the professional level Negroes find discrimination. Negro doctors are barred from membership in the local medical association; they are denied admittance to practice in the city's two major hospitals and rarely have any contact with white colleagues, except on rare occasions when one calls upon the other for consultation.

Negro teachers are in the particularly frustrating position of having no local educational outlet and must travel at least 100 miles to Negro colleges to do advanced work in summer teacher seminars. The highest position held by a Negro in the city school system is that of principal.

The city's one Negro lawyer feels that he is handicapped in his practice by a general feeling within the Negro community that a white lawyer can more successfully handle their affairs in an all-white courtroom. Their thinking seems to be that the mere presence of an educated Negro lawyer would inflame white prejudices against them.

There are a few Negro registered nurses on the staffs of two city hospitals; Negro leaders feel, however, that the number is inadequate in view of the fact that the two segregated wings of an otherwise all-white hospital are manned almost entirely by semiprofessionals — practical nurses and nurses aides.

KNOCKING — BUT THEY CAN'T GET IN

Researchers discovered few instances of actual job breakthroughs for Negroes into all-white categories. Jobs considered "unusual" for Negroes appear to be isolated cases with no attempt made permanently to erase racial barriers in these roles. A few such examples, however, are noteworthy.

- A mail-order house employs a Negro mail-order clerk.

- A leading flower farm with a large southeastern clientele employs a Negro flower designer who works on equal status with her white colleagues.

- An automobile dealer has a Negro salesman on its staff. (It is perhaps pertinent to note here that all other dealers employ Negroes as clean-up and grease men, although many of these men, it is said, know enough about automobiles to hold mechanic's jobs.)

- The local outlet of a nationwide variety store has recently upgraded a maid with 15 years seniority to the level of clerk. This woman feels that she has been well accepted by both white customers and her fellow white clerks. Her salary is the same as that of other clerks with the same amount of seniority.

But as has been observed, instances such as these (insignificant really when one considers the vast waste of Negro labor potential in Chattanooga) are exceptions. Employment of Negroes at levels below their training, Negro leaders say, is most certainly the rule.

An index of the extent to which this is true may be gauged by a look at the responses of college-trained Negro substitute teachers, questioned as to the type of jobs they are able to find other than teaching.

One baby-sits. One operates a department store elevator. One carries baggage at the airport. One works as floor sweeper in a bakery. Another works as a household domestic. Many say they are unable to find other jobs at all.

SUMMARY

In almost any discussion with a segregationist a statement somewhat like this will occur: "I don't dislike Negroes personally, but they should seek to raise their economic level first before pressing for integration."

The conclusions of this survey make it obvious that there is more involved here than an effort of will on the part of Negroes. Discrimination begins long before a Negro youth files his first job application. He is denied equal training opportunities, and when he seeks skilled jobs he is rejected — ostensibly at least — because he is inadequately trained. If he does acquire trade skills, he is barred from most trade unions and apprentice programs. He is likewise barred from admission to the only college within 100 miles. Almost without exception, industries with Federal contracts fill their required Negro quotas at the lowest level of employment. Local custom works as a brake on the few white employers who might desire to upgrade their Negro employees to positions of greater responsibility.

Is there any wonder, then, that 65% of a local Negro high school graduating class seek opportunities outside Chattanooga? The wonder is that as many remain as do.

Governor Buford Ellington, campaigning for election in 1958, stated: "All of us are fighting youth migration. We need to be in the position to stretch our arms toward these youths who have left our state and say: 'Come home, come home. The opportunities are here.'

"And we need to expand the system of trade schools so that we can say to our youths remaining with us: 'Stay home, stay home. The opportunities will be here. You will be trained to take advantage of them.' "

Whether he intended to do so or not, the governor summed up the plight of the Negro youth in the city of Chattanooga. And this raises the most pertinent question of all.

How much longer can Chattanooga afford to sustain and support a policy that fosters youth migration and forces those who stay at home to accept a permanent rung at the bottom of the employment ladder? It is not too late — even in Chattanooga — to do something about it. But as Governor Ellington indicated four years ago — time is running short.